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73. Iraq: Nationalism & Imperialism

The Communists, with Soviet guidance and support, are consolidating their control over Iraq with the probable intention of using it as a base for expansion. Their probable priority targets are Iran, Jordan, and Syria. They will continue to use Qasim as a front as long as he is useful. The effectiveness of Nasser's anti-Communist and anti-Iraq campaign has been diluted by friction among Arab countries and between Arab and non-Arab Middle East nations. But among its beneficial effects have been (1) the equation of world Communism with imperialism and (2) the exposure of Communist use of Arab nationalism as a cover.

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As pre-Summit discussions and negotiations have proceeded in recent weeks Moscow has continued its display of restraint and moderation with the professed purpose of creating an atmosphere conducive to fruitful Summit negotiations. This effort at apparent conciliation has as its objectives: (a) persuading the world of the peaceful intentions of Moscow in order that any failure of the forthcoming East-West negotiations will appear to be the West's responsibility and, (b) breaching the unity and firmness of the western pre-conference positions. This generally agreeable facade was rudely marred, however, on March 7th in Leipzig in a speech to the "all-German" workers conference (Communist East German workers plus a sprinkling of fellow-travellers invited from the West). Khrushchev delivered an unusually frank and blunt restatement of the Soviet position in terms reminiscent of the worst periods of the "Cold War". In words permeated with hostility toward the West and suspicion of its actions and motivations, Khrushchev reviewed the history of Soviet relations with the West since the assumption of power by the Communist Party in 1917, running the gamut of stereotyped charges -- (e.g., Western attempts to crush the early Soviet regime, incitement of Hitler to attack the USSR in World War II, initiation of the cold war by Churchill at Fulton, and the economic blockade of Russia by the Western Powers). In some of the most explicit language yet used by a Russian leader, Khrushchev expounded the Soviet objective of recognition of the status quo in Europe while belittling the cause of German reunification. Once again he called for the writing of a peace treaty for Germany, which, "without altering anything that came into being after the war, and by finally determining the existing situation in Central Europe, would represent a decisive step toward normalizing the international situation". Finally, in an unusual commentary on Eastern European internal problems Khrushchev addressed himself to the problems of national borders including territorial settlements between Hungary and Yugoslavia, Rumania and the USSR, and Rumania and Hungary. While stating that, for the time being, these must remain as they are, Khrushchev predicted eventual solution through the disappearance of borders altogether with the ultimate world-wide victory of communism when "frontiers as they are known today will cease to exist". In this manner he anticipated the complete absorption of the Eastern European nations by the USSR.

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75. The Caribbean Area in the Wake of Cuba's Revolution

In April, Fidel Castro of Cuba spent several weeks in the United States earnestly "selling" his revolution and the future plans and policies of his provisional government. U.S. audiences, though invariably friendly, were persistently curious about the sequel to the revolution, such as Castro's position on communism, private property, dictatorships, elections, intervention, etc. Castro's answers to searching questions on such issues were on the whole acceptable to both his immediate U.S. audiences and the larger audiences throughout Latin America and beyond as evidenced by his following quotes: "I do not agree with communism - there is no doubt for me between democracy and communism"... "We are against all dictatorships - that is why we are not in favor of communism"... "We will not confiscate private property - on the contrary, we seek more investment by foreign business"... "We want elections as soon as possible - a date for elections will be announced next month, as well as a date for the resumption of habeus corpus"... "We are against intervention in the affairs of other nations"... etc. Sooner than expected, Castro's commitment on the issue of intervention was to be put to the test. While Castro was still in the U.S. a boatload of revolutionaries including 88 Cuban nationals sailed from a Cuban port and invaded Panama. Castro immediately and unequivocally condemned the intervention and promised to cooperate completely with the Organization of American States, the regional collective security organization of the Western Hemisphere that had assumed responsibility for Panama's protection. He also promised to punish the guilty Cubans.

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A major theme in Communist propaganda, stepped up in anticipation of the Geneva meetings and a possible Summit Conference, has been the portrayal of a U.S.-led Western "Bloc" as the originator and continually aggressive perpetrator of the Cold War. Their campaign has not been without success and in large measure has been responsible for the adoption by neutralist and uncommitted nations and the more naive of other countries of a none-too-well-reasoned position of "a pox on both your houses", notably shaken only by the events in Hungary and more recently in Tibet. In fact, Zhdanov signaled the start of the Cold War in his speech of September 1947 setting up the Cominform. The later dissolution of the Cominform was, of course, a mere tactic and the identification of the International Communist movement with the Cold War, under the direction of the CPSU, was in fact revalidated in the 12-Party Declaration of Communist Parties in November 1957. It is significant to note that Yugoslavia refused to sign this Declaration. The Declaration calls for a program of action through united fronts of which the tactical aim is the acquisition of state power in non-Communist countries. It baldly states of workers in capitalist countries that "increasingly favorable conditions are being created for bringing them into the active struggle for socialism". Soviet theoretician Boris Ponomarev, writing in the October 1959 CPSU theoretical journal KOMMUNIST said that while western CP's face difficulties, prospects of local action by Asian, African and Latin American CP's are increasingly favorable. In a thinly disguised directive to local communists in these areas, he urged them to work for "ideological liberation" now that national liberation has been achieved. Increasing numbers of intellectuals in these countries, he said, realize that national liberation is only half the battle; and these "politically aware" persons draw their main "inspiration" from Communist ideology and this opens up "effective prospects" for freedom not only from imperialism but also from "social servitude". Renewed impetus was derived from the 21st CPSU Congress which, among other things was dedicated to the reaffirmation of the leadership of the CPSU in world Communist affairs and to endorsement of the tactics proclaimed by the 12-Party Declaration.

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77. Tito Throws Down the Gauntlet

On returning from his recent extensive tour of various African and Asian nations, Marshal Tito is reported to have concluded that the time had come to speak forcefully in answer to the unceasing attacks by the Soviet Bloc on himself and the internal and external policies of Yugoslavia. On 15 April in an interview granted the Editor in Chief of the Yugoslav Party paper KOMUNIST, Marshal Tito initiated his rebuttal. Comparing the present status of relations to the period of the anti-Yugoslav campaign conducted by Stalin in 1948 when "the League of Yugoslav Communists also conducted a struggle for equal relations among socialist states". Tito predicted that the new struggle would be long and hard "against the preposterous Stalinist method, especially in regard to relations between Socialist parties and countries" but that the Yugoslavs would win after the "camp countries had given up the methods of slander, distortions, and lies". Tito reflected on his stay in Russia during the Stalin purges, sharply criticizing the reign of terror which then existed, regretting the many Yugoslav comrades who had been liquidated simply because they disagreed with Stalin, and proclaiming that these would have to be rehabilitated. On 18 April in speeches commemorating the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, Tito returned to this theme stating that the purge and trial policy pursued by Stalin through the Comintern "destroyed the revolutionary physiognomy of the Communists and created a kind of Communist-weakling" and had done enormous damage to communism. These policies, he said, had been responsible for the liquidation of over 100 Yugoslav leaders who had taken refuge in Russia before WW II. On the same day in Belgrade Vice-President Rankovic said that Yugoslavia challenged the Soviet thesis that communist parties had a "commanding" role in the state, and asserted that they should "act by political means and should not be above the heads of the people". These attacks launched by the two foremost leaders of Yugoslavia indicated that the Moscow-Belgrade debate was indeed rejoined and, as Tito predicts, will continue for some time to come.

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78. Singapore Elections

On 30 May the British Crown Colony of Singapore will vote for its first all-elected Legislative Assembly, preparatory to the introduction on 1 June of a new constitution granting Statehood status and internal self-government to Singapore. (The UK retains control of Defense and Foreign Affairs.) Singapore's importance to the Free World lies in the fact that it is a world trade center, one of the ten greatest ports in the world, and the largest in Southeast Asia. Singapore's future economic stability is dependent on its ability to maintain its entrepot position. The Colony has a serious Communist problem because it is nearly 80 percent Chinese, a large portion of whom are politically and emotionally oriented toward mainland China. The principal contenders in the election are the Communist-infiltrated Peoples Action Party (PAP) headed by a Cambridge-educated lawyer, LEE Kuan Yew, and the Singapore Peoples Alliance (SPA), a loose grouping of moderate socialists headed by a labor leader who is the current Chief Minister, LIM Yew Hock. The well-organized PAP, campaigning on a platform of emotional anti-British diatribes and promising to curb unemployment and better the economic future of the "lowest citizens" and having gained considerable influence within the trade unions is generally conceded to be the likely winner in the forthcoming elections.

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